1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

CHAPTER VI

WARFARE AND THE COUNCIL LODGE

Warfare

721 [183] War was one of the most important elements in the life of the Winnebago. The life of the warrior was the ideal toward which all men strove. It not only satisfied certain emotional needs but it [534] was so inextricably interwoven with social standing in the community and with individual prestige that Winnebago life is unthinkable without it. It is not surprising, then, that the prayer for [782] success on the warpath was the most important prayer that men offered up to the spirits and that it was reechoed in almost all the ceremonies. (Pls. 43, 44, 45.)

An element of culture fraught with so much significance to the individual and the social group was bound to be surrounded by innumerable customs, regulations, and restrictions. It was a life that was at stake every time an individual went on the warpath, and remembering the value of each life to a small community, it is not to be wondered at if there is a definite attempt on the part of the social group to restrict individual activity in this particular regard. An individual might go on the warpath either alone or in company with a few people, but the community, in the person of the chief, insisted that he show some warrant for his action. If no warrant of [626] any kind could be given, he subjected himself to the only restrictive measures the chief and the community could adopt, disapproval, jeers, and temporary loss of social standing and prestige. So much, as far as his own person was concerned. If his action jeopardized the life or lives of other members of the tribe he had then to face [636] the relatives of these people, just as any individual who had committed some wrong. It is hardly likely that many men would willingly run any risks of unnecessarily antagonizing their fellow tribesmen when the proper means of preparing for the warpath was open to all. A careful perusal of the system of education given on page 166 makes it clear that a sufficiently large number of methods for obtaining consent to lead a party were given, and that it was possible for every male individual to go on the warpath frequently if he so desired. Certain requirements were, however, necessary. It was not left to each individual to decide for himself [622] whether he possessed these, but the final decision always lay in the hands of the chief.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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867 787 If you thus travel in the road of the good people, it will be good and other people will not consider your life a source of amusement.[*]

If you can not obtain a blessing from the spirits try also to have some good plant take pity on you. This I am telling you and if you do not do it, you will suffer for it. All that I am saying will be of great benefit to you if you pay heed to me, for (you will need 867 789 726 medicines for) whatever you do in life, if you are not fortunate enough to obtain blessings from the spirits. If you are ever on the warpath, you will need medicine in order to escape being hit or in order to prevent yourself from getting exhausted or from feeling famished. If you manage to be fortunate in all these things you may be certain that the medicines have caused it.

867 577 My son, help yourself as you go along life's path, for this earth has many narrow passages and you can never tell when you will come to one. If, however, you have something with which to strengthen yourself you will come safely through the passages you meet.

Let every one think you a desirable person to know. Associate with people. If you act in this manner, every one will like you. (You will live) a contented life. Never do anything wrong to your children. Whatever your children ask you to do, do not hesitate to do it for them. If you act thus people will say you are good-natured. If you ever lose a friend by death and if you have riches cover[**] the expenses of the funeral of the deceased. Help the mourners to feed the people at the wake. If you act thus you will be acting well. Then you will be truly a helper of the people and they will know you as such. Indeed, all of them will know you. For the good you do, all will love you.

867 525 My son, do not become a gambler. You might, it is true, become rich, but in spite of your wealth all your children will die. No gambler ever had children. It is an affair of the bad spirits entirely. Now if you do all that I have told you, you will unquestionably lead a happy and contented life.

867 Thus would the old people speak to a child whom they loved very much, that he might obtain the means of warding off what is not good. Anyone who acted contrary to these teachings would have himself to blame for the consequences.

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[606] [602] [*] This dislike of being made fun of, or of being the laughing stock, plays an important rôle among the Winnebago. It is not at all comparable to the same feeling as found at the present day among civilized people of Western Europe, for it is infinitely deeper and closely associated with social ostracism. The despondency caused by being made fun of, would frequently drive a person away from home or lead him to embark on any undertaking that would bring death. Owing to the social consequences coming in its train, a man would consequently do most anything in his power to ward it off. Correlated with this negative aspect of the use of "fun poking," there is a positive one. There are certain relatives who have the privilege of making fun of or playing practical jokes on you. This "joking relationship" exists among many tribes in America, but the relatives between whom it is permitted differ in every case. Among the Winnebago it exists between uncles and nieces and nephews and between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

[**] That is, buy the funeral apparel for the deceased.

867 be able to retain your hold on men. If you do your work to the
593 satisfaction of your husband, he will never leave you. I say again,
832 it is not proper to use medicine. Above all, do not use medicine until you have passed your youth. You will otherwise merely make yourself weak. You will lead a weak life. It may even happen that you will cause yourself to become foolish.

[581] Do not use a medicine in order to marry. If you marry remain faithful to your husband. Do not act as though you are married to a number of men at the same time. Lead a chaste life. If you do not listen to what I am telling you and you are unfaithful to your
● [626] husband, all the men will jeer at you. They will say whatever they wish to (and no one will interfere). Every man will treat you as though he were on the "joking relationship" with you. If you do not listen to me, therefore, you will injure yourself.

867 Thus the old people used to talk to one another. Thus they would
584 warn one another against certain actions. They used to instruct the young girls as they grew up (just as I am doing to you now). That is why I am telling of these things now.

My daughter, as you grow older and grow up to be a young woman, the young men will begin to court you. Never strike a man, my
[683] daughter. It is forbidden. If you dislike a man very much, tell him gently to go away. If you do not do this and instead strike him, remember that it frequently happens that men know of medicines; or if they themselves have none they may know from whom to
[754] get them. If you make a man feel bad by striking him, he may use this medicine and cause you to run away with him and become a bad woman. It is for this reason that the old men used to warn the young girls not to strike the men who are courting them, but whom they dislike. Pray with all your heart that you do not become such a woman.

867 Do not act haughtily to your husband. Whatever he tells you
593 to do, do it. Kindness will be returned to you if you obey your husband, for he will treat you in the same manner.
858 If you ever have a child, do not strike it. In the olden times when a child misbehaved the parents did not strike it, but they made it fast. When a child gets hungry, he will soon see the error of his ways. If you hit a child, you will be merely knocking the
[861] wickedness into him. Women should likewise never scold the children because children are merely made wicked by scoldings. If your husband scolds the children, do not take their part, for that will merely make them bad. In the same way, if a stranger makes your children cry, do not say anything to the stranger in the presence of the children, nor take their part in his presence. If you wish to prevent a stranger from scolding your children, keep them home and teach them how to behave by setting them a good example. Do not imagine that you do the best for your children by

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) :944
NP12 Winnebago NP12

178 bers of the tribe. The older generation does not generally
182 try to resist the change, nor encourage it, but rather the ten-
561 dency is to mourn the past. A few realize that the unhappy plight of the younger generation is but one of the many changes in their society brought on by the breakdown of tribal organization due to contact with white religion, liquor, and government.

[86]
[626] Originally the training of the young was in the hands of the elders of the tribe and rules were put into effect by group controls; whereas now these controls have gone, and it is only in recent years and only among a few families that the idea of parental control is stressed in the same manner as in white society.

Consequently we have the picture of a younger generation following their particular whims and an older generation seeing the wrongs of such a situation but feeling powerless to relieve it.

Types of Cultural Change

178 Having become acquainted with the attitudes of members of a changing society, let us consider cultural change itself. For purposes of simplification we can break down our main heading of cultural change into four types.

1. We are all familiar with the direct Indian-to-white cultural change which is of so long standing, and so obvious that it hardly requires further explanation other than mentioning the Indians' use of white foods, houses, clothing, and the myriad other aspects of white culture which have become a part of the Indians' life.

2. One of the complexities of cultural change is that some customs taken over from the whites remain relatively static in the Indian society, but continue to change at a faster rate in the white group. A good example of this is in the realm of material culture. The women's buckskin dresses were of course long ago exchanged for broadcloth and other fabrics fashioned along Indian styles, but these were later replaced by calico dresses in the last century following the then current

The Teachings of My Father

inflict this suffering upon yourself. Not without constant effort are these blessings procurable. Try to have one of the spirits created by Earthmaker take pity on you. Whatever he says will come about. If you do not possess one of the spirits from whom to obtain strength and power, you will be of no consequence socially and those around you will show you little respect. Indeed they will jeer at you.

My son, it is not good to die in the village; in your homes. Above all, do not let women journey to the spirit land ahead of you. It is not done. To prevent this from happening do we speak to our sons and encourage them to fast. Some day in life you will find yourself traveling along a road filled with obstacles and then you will wish you had fasted. When such an event confronts you, that you may not find it necessary to reproach yourself, I counsel you to fast. If you have not obtained any knowledge from the spirits, why it may happen that some day, in later life, warriors will be returning from the warpath and as they distribute the war prizes to their sisters,[18] your own sisters will stand there empty-handed envying the rest. But if you obtain blessings from the war-controllers, your sisters will be happy. How proud they will be to receive the prizes, to wear them, and to dance the victory dance! Your sisters too will be strengthened thereby and you will be content and happy.

Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to

[18] Among the Winnebago a man's sisters, especially his elder sisters, were very highly respected and all war prizes, such as wampum-belts, wampum necklaces, etc., were always given to them whenever a man returned from a successful war-party in which he had secured some honor. These war honors were of various kinds. The greatest was considered to be the feat of having struck the body of a dead enemy first.

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

The Teachings of My Father

There are medicines to prevent people from getting tired when walking and medicines to cause a dog fight to take place. In short there are medicines for everything.

Every one must take care of himself and try to obtain that knowledge which will enable him to live in comfort and happiness. Try therefore to learn about the things you will need. If you know them, then as you travel along in life, you will not have to go to the expense of buying them from others, but you will have your own medicines. If you act in this way and if, in addition, you fast properly, you will never be caught off guard in life. Should you possess a home, it will look beautiful and you will never be in want. That is why I know you will never regret this that I am telling you. So you shall travel on your journey though life, along the virtuous road taken by all your fellowmen, and your actions and behavior will never become the butt of your neighbor's sarcasm.

Help yourself as you travel along the road of life. The earth has many narrow passages scattered over it. If you have something with which to strengthen yourself, then when you get to these narrow turns you will be able to pass through them safely and your fellow men will respect you. See to it that people like you. Be on friendly terms with every one and then every one will like you. You will be happy and prosperous.

Never do any wrong to your children. Whatever your children ask of you, do it for them. If you act thus people will then say that you are good natured.

If any one in the village loses a friend through death, should you at all be wealthy, cover the expenses of the funeral of the deceased, if you can. Help the mourners likewise in defraying the expenses of feeding the departed. If you act thus, you will do well. All the people you have

Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

of his wife and refuse to go on a warpath. He might as well have been brought up as a girl. Men who are real men perform the deeds of men, but such a man will never perform a real man's deed. If he should actually attend a war-bundle feast he will be given the leanest piece of meat, only given to a man of no account. Why should any one run the risk of being thus jeered at? Now when a really brave man attends a war-bundle feast he is given a deer's head. This other man gets a lean piece! It will dry up in his throat, so humiliated and disgraced will he feel. After a while he will not be allowed to go to any feast; his wife will not let him. He will listen to the voice of his wife. His relatives will scold him, his sisters will think nothing of him. They will tell people never to go to visit him. Finally when he has become a real slave of his wife he will even hit his relatives if she asks him to. It is for these reasons that I warn you not to listen to women. You will be considered different from others. It is not good.

Remember this too, that women cannot be watched. If you try to watch them and are jealous about them, then your female relatives will also be jealous of them. Finally when your jealousy has developed to the highest pitch, your wife will leave you and run away with some one else. You have allowed her to see by your actions that you worship a woman, and one alone, and, in addition, you have been watching her all the time. Because of this incessant annoyance she will run away from you. If you think that

of these spirits, a buckskin decorated with the symbol sacred to the spirit, was prepared and then at the most dramatic moment of the ceremony these buckskins were thrown out of the ceremonial lodge and it was believed that the spirits came down in person to fetch them. The war-bundle feast was specifically a man's ceremony.

867 will be ruining a man. It is equivalent to killing him. Do
593 not do it. It is forbidden. If you marry a man and want
832 to live with him permanently, work for him in order to hold him. When you marry a man, listen to what he says. If you do your work properly and the man likes you, he will never leave you. By working for him must you make your husband love you. Now remember it is not good to use medicines on him. At least before you are fairly mature in years do not use any, for you will thereby merely weaken yourself and your life will be of no consequence. Indeed you may cause the medicine to work on yourself and then become demented in consequence.

867 Marry only one man at a time. Be good and virtuous
58 in your married life. If you do not listen to what I am
[626] telling you, you will become bad and men will make fun of you. They will do whatever they wish with you; joke with you familiarly on any subject. If you do not listen to me you will injure yourself. Thus did the old people
867 speak to one another and thus did they hand down these precepts from one generation to another, warning young girls against committing wrong actions. They also said that when a girl is growing up, one should admonish her and that is why I am now speaking to you.

867 As you grow older, when you get to be a young woman,
584 the men will begin to court you. Never hit a man. It is
[683] forbidden. If you dislike a man very much tell him to go away gently. If instead, you hit him, remember that fre-
[154] quently young men possess certain injurious medicines which they may use against you. Even if a particular person does not possess them, he knows where to get them. Then this man whom you have humiliated, will use it and transform you from a chaste and nice woman to a loose one, to a harlot. That is why the old people used to warn

#159 584 some young men had forced themselves into lodges where they had not been willingly received.

On one occasion I went to see a young girl and arrived there before the people had retired so I waited near the lodge until they went to sleep. As I lay there waiting, listening, I fell asleep. When I woke up it was morning and when the people got up they found me sleeping there. I felt very much ashamed of myself [626] and the people laughed at me. I was not long in getting away.

We always did these things secretly for it was considered a disgrace to be caught and discovered.

On another occasion, in another place, I was crawling into a lodge when some one woke up as I was about halfway in. I immediately stopped and remained quiet and waited for the people to fall asleep again. In waiting, however, I myself fell asleep. When the people woke me up in the morning I was lying halfway inside the lodge. After waking me up they asked me whether I wouldn't stay for breakfast but I immediately ran away.

After a while I began to go around with some particular girl and I liked it so much that I would not get to sleep at all at night. I would sleep during the day. While we were acting in this manner our parents saw to it that we had food to eat and clothes to wear. We never helped them, for we were always courting girls. [221] Only in the fall, when we picked berries, did we help along. However, as we were generally out all night, we could not do much work even then.

seat in the main lodge stopped singing and the specially invited people entered the regular ceremonial lodge. 159* 096

The older people took charge of me for the whole night. Whenever they referred to me they would say, "In the morning when he-for-whom-we-desire-life becomes like us." They meant me and they meant that I would be a member in the morning. So I was extremely anxious for the morning to dawn. All night they danced. This part of the ceremony is called the rehearsal or trial performance.

The next morning, just before day, even while the dance was still going on, the leader of the first and second band, those of the east end and some others, took me to a secret place in the brush. When we got there we found a place where the ground had been cleared in the outline of the dance lodge. There the older people preached to me and told me that the most fearful things imaginable would happen if I made public any of the affair, *i.e.*, told the secrets of the Medicine Dance! The world would come to an end, they said. They told me that if I didn't keep everything secret I would die. [226]

It was in the brush that the leader told me of the road that all medicine men travel. [156]

The Road of Life

My son, as you travel along this road do not doubt it. If you do you'll be unhappy; you'll injure yourself. But if you do everything that I tell you well it will benefit you greatly. 159* 156 539

The Medicine Dance

The evil birds signify the following. The fact that you have joined the medicine lodge means that your intentions are to lead a good life. Now as soon as you join, the work of evil tattlers will begin and they will say that you have done things contrary to the teachings of the lodge. Perhaps a piece of bird's excrement will fall on you. What of it? Don't brush it off without thought. Some will claim that you had said that the lodge was no good. Yet even then you must not blurt out, "Who said that?" and get angry. Keep quiet and hold your peace.

As you go along you will come to a great fire encircling the earth and practically impossible to cross. It will be so near that it will scorch you. Remember then that your grandfather had said that you would be able to pass it. Plunge through it. Soon you will find yourself on the other side and nothing will have happened to you.

Now this great fire means death. Your wife will die. Go through this as well as you can; don't get discouraged. This fire will be the worst thing you have to go through. You will have been living happily and then without warning your wife will die. There you will be with your children. Remember, however, what your grandfather said and plunge straight through. On the other side you will find the footprints of the medicine men.

After a while you will come to tremendous perpendicular bluffs which hardly seem passable. Think, however, of what your grandfather said and soon you will find yourself on the other side quite safe.

Now these bluffs mean death. As you travel along the road of life you will find yourself alone. All your relatives, all your loved ones, are dead. You yourself will begin to think to yourself, "Why, after all, am I living?" You will want to die. Now this, my grandson, is the place

§22. *We Kill a Pottawattomie*

* 159 588 837 I never married any woman permanently. I would live with one for awhile, and then with another. Sometimes upon my return after an absence I would find my temporary wife living with another man. This is the way in which I acted.

* 159 787 721 My father had brought me up and had encouraged me to fast, so that I might be blessed by all the spirits that exist, and thus live in comfort. My father had raised me so that I should desire to obtain war honors,[28] so that I should not be like one who wears skirts. That was the reason he had me join the Medicine Dance so that people should not be able to ridicule me. My father taught me to lead a sober and sane life and my grandfather, during the time I lived with him, had told me the same. They both encouraged me to give feasts and to ask the spirits for war honors.

* 159 721 At that time I had a comrade, and one day he said to me, "We have been thinking of something, have we not, friend? We ought to try and obtain some external emblem of our bravery. Do we not always try to wear feathers at a Warrior Dance? Well, then, let us try

[559] [301] [28] These war honors were the following: touching the body of a slain enemy first, killing an enemy, touching the body second, touching it third, stealing a horse. All of them entitled the possessor to wear an eagle feather in his hair.

8: Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

WINNEBAGO BERDACHE

By NANCY OESTREICH LURIE

THE following account draws attention to the fact that the berdache role was still evident in Winnebago culture until close to the turn of the century, and adds somewhat to the data of certain clear cultural parallels between this Woodland Siouan group and such Plains Siouan tribes as the Omaha, Oto, Iowa and Ponca. The description is not complete and certain points are equivocal. Thus, all of the available ethnographic documentation will be presented so that anyone intending to use the information will be able to assess its value. The description given here agrees, Dr. Raul Radin said in a conversation, with his unpublished Winnebago data.

During the course of general field investigations conducted from time to time during the years 1945 to 1947, it was apparent that Winnebago informants in Wisconsin tended to be reticent to discuss the matter of the berdache. Their embarrassment may indicate that knowledge of the subject was withheld. However, even where excellent rapport existed and individuals became sufficiently interested in the topic to question people who might not speak directly to an ethnographer, some details remain uncertain. Furthermore, while the last berdache died somewhat over fifty years ago, the picture is confused by the former tendency of Winnebago culture to invest given forms of traits with opposite meanings and functions when used under different circumstances. At the present time, the recollections of many informants reveal that they know only half of the total function of given forms, or that they attempt to synthesize features which now appear as contradictory.

While it was noted in 1950 that the Nebraska Winnebago were quite willing to speak of matters that in Wisconsin are still considered sacred or as things to be kept secret from whites, the Nebraska Winnebago simply knew less about older traditions.

It was agreed generally that the berdache was a man who had taken on this role because he had been directed to do so by the moon, a female spirit, at the time of his vision quest. The berdache dressed as a woman, performed women's tasks better than any normal woman could perform them, and had the ability to foretell future events. However, not all Winnebago prophets were berdaches. One informant mentioned that berdaches sometimes married other men, but no data were obtained concerning the attitude of the society toward the husband of a berdache. Most informants felt that the berdache was at one time a highly honored and respected person, but that the Winnebago had become ashamed of the custom because the white people thought it was amusing or evil. By the time the last known berdache attempted to fulfill the role, his brothers threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." This berdache then affected a combination of male and female clothing, fearing that he would die if he did not at least attempt to follow the directions given him in his vision of the moon.

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

According to M.R., a party of Winnebago once went on the warpath and were badly beaten. One man, the only survivor according to his claim, returned to his village. There he recounted his valorous deeds at the side of his companions, and said he had escaped only because the enemy had left him for dead. He was accorded great honor until sometime later another member of the party returned and told how the first man had fled and hidden out in the woods when he saw that the battle was going against the Winnebago. The cowardly and dishonest warrior, on the decision of the police (bear) clan, then had to take on the role of a woman and lived in disgrace the rest of his life.

Evidence concerning the berdache was even less definite in Nebraska. G.P., a woman about fifty years old in 1950, mentioned that her mother-in-law once told her of a case which agreed in most details with that of dejáŋčowiŋga, but this individual was called čoŋanažiŋga and was supposed to have lived in Wisconsin. However, G.S., a man born in 1887, who also told of čoŋanažiŋga, gave an account of a berdache who was his mother's cousin. G.S.'s mother was Iowa and Oto through her maternal line and the berdache cousin, referred to as "sister," was a parallel cousin of Iowa and Oto descent. However, the description G.S. recounted as having come from his mother is almost identical to that regarding the Winnebago berdache. The cousin had been blessed by the moon, feared death if he disobeyed the moon's directions that he dress and act as a woman, even to giving this as the reason for his behavior when G.S.'s mother once remonstrated with him for being, "a shame to us Indians."

An attempt was made to discover whether the Winnebago berdache role for men had a parallel Siouan role of "warrior women." Only one very doubtful account was collected in 1946 from S.S. the Wisconsin informant who provided the first extensive description of dejáŋčowiŋga.

Once there was a man, kind of high tone, he had two wives. The older one wanted to keep her husband so she had him marry her younger sister too. They used to do that years ago when they wanted to hold their husbands. Anyway, this man and his gang went off to the Civil War. There was a bad woman in the camp. She was a good looker, but she was bad, and this man took the bad woman with him. During the war one time they ran out of bullets, and this woman got on a horse and went through the enemy lines to a big city and came back with a whole lot of bullets and saved them. Another time she warned them when they were all asleep and the enemy was near. When they came back, she was riding on the horse in front of the man, and the men had all given her presents for saving them. Her waist was just covered with ribbons and the man's two wives cried when they saw it. The people made up a song about her because she was a brave woman and sometimes they still sing it. After that they always called her hinugrosisiŋgra which meant that she laughed aloud like a man, shaking her whole body [hinugrosisiŋgra—hinuk:woman; ɾo:body; sisiŋk:to shake as with laughter; ɾa: article; k is voiced when followed by ɾ]. They call those giggling girls that nowadays sometimes.

While the above account probably represents an isolated example of a woman who went to war rather than an accepted type of role, it is apparent that